1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

The steady decrease in the population culminated in 1871 when most of the natives left for Tahiti and Mangareva. The exact number of those who abandoned their homes that year is difficult to ascertain. Jaussen (113, p. 385) says that 231 Easter Islanders were working on Brander's plantations and that 50 (some other sources say about 100) stayed in Mangareva with the missionaries. By 1873, 100 of the 231 had died. The number of the emigrants to Tahiti estimated by Thomson (215, p. 461) and Geiseler (87, p. 19) as 400 or 500 is certainly exaggerated, since they say that 300 or 400 were also transferred to Mangareva. In 1900 the Easter Islanders in Tahiti were only 44—21 men, 11 women, and 13 children (7, p. 84). I do not know the present number.

The following table tabulates all available population figures for the period 1872 to 1934. This includes inaccurate estimates made by missionaries and visitors as well as careful censuses.

The present population is concentrated in the village of Hanga-roa and occupies 2,000 hectares. This area, granted to the natives by the government, is small but sufficient for their needs. Only the fields in and around Hanga-roa are cultivated but the need of more land has never been felt. It might even be said that the natives could produce far beyond their wants if they cared to. If 456 natives can live easily on a small portion of the island which is not particularly fertile it may be assumed that eight or nine times that number could have made a comfortable living on the entire island. Formerly fishing was a more important food resource than it is now. I believe that the population of Easter Island a hundred years ago must have been between 3,000 and 4,000. Meyer and Jablonowski (160, p. 6), who have investigated carefully the population of Easter Island, propose the same figure. If the population was about 3,000 before the coming of the white men it gives a density of 13.7 persons to one square kilometer, about the same number as that for Tahiti.

Leprosy is the only disease endemic to the island. In 1934 there were 22 lepers confined in a separate hut. During the five months we spent on the island all the other natives were examined by Dr. Drapkin who found them in excellent health, with the exception of a few cases of tuberculosis. Venereal diseases are rare and only three or four cases of blennorrhea have been reported. Natives are very susceptible to pulmonary infection. The visit of any boat is invariably followed by an epidemic of influenza or bronchitis. Although surgeons of a warship inspect the island at intervals the natives were vaccinated for the first time during our stay on the island.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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After their wedding nights both suffered from cruel pains in the stomachs and would have died if they had not applied to Pakarati, the catechist, who saved their lives by prayer and other ritual performances. This belief is perhaps the survival of an ancient tapu against marriages between female members of the *ariki* group and common members of other *mata*. However, Routledge (194, p. 246) affirms that unions between *ariki-paka* and commoners were possible in the old days, for the daughter of the great king Nga-ara is said to have married a man of the Marama tribe. It is certain that the king had to marry in his own tribe, though not in his own lineage. Other men of the Miru could marry into any descent line.

Certain physical peculiarities were attributed to the members of the different tribes. Thus the Tupa-hotu were said to have tender feet which easily became sore in war expeditions. The Miru were bow-legged (*ngapau*).

Geographical Distribution of Tribes

Ruins of houses and ahus scattered over Easter Island correspond to the distribution of the ancient population. All villages were concentrated along the coast and the mountains and plains of the interior were sparsely inhabited. On the slope of Rano-aroi, near Vai-tea, the remains of two or three ahus may still be seen. Another ahu is a little north of Mount Oroi. On the west of the island were some villages and ahus built at the base of the slopes of Rano-aroi and at some distance from the coast. The settlements belonged to the Miru and the Hamea. Some Marama were scattered farther toward the interior. All the ancient settlements east of Vai-tea had been founded by families from groups in the east. As testified by the scarcity and the relative unimportance of the ruins, the groups living in the interior were isolated and composed of only a few members.

The ten *mata* or tribes were divided into two main divisions corresponding roughly to the western and eastern parts of the island. The western and northwestern tribes were called Tuu (usually spelled Ko Tuu) or *mata nui* (greater groups), and the eastern tribes were the people of Hotu-iti or *mata iti* (lesser groups). The reason for this dualism is not clear. There is no tradition or fact suggesting that the splitting of the *mata* into two main divisions had a social function and it is probable that it was a political institution. It was manifest mainly in a perpetual antagonism between the groups, the memory of which has been preserved in legends (p. 74). It is important to stress the fact that the tribes of the eastern division are more frequently mentioned under the collective name of Hotu-iti that the tribes of the west are under the name Tuu. Thus it may be inferred that the eastern tribes were more unified than the western ones. The above data implies that Hotu-iti was a primary tribe which divided into smaller groups. Tuu seems to be a simple geographic designation. Near Hanga-roa on the west coast there is

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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and finally to two unmixed sub-groups, the Koera and Hahai. I do not know what was the character of the mixing in these cases, but very possibly the bulk of it arose through intermarriages, in which case the fact of the mixings of sub-groups would not necessarily be antagonistic to suggestions that their grouping was in the main social and local coincidently.

VILLAGES

Remains of villages or houses are scattered along almost the entire coast. Few evidences of former occupation are found in the interior; only on the slope of Rano-raraku are there ruins of some villages. It is difficult to determine whether all the points along the coast were ever simultaneously occupied. We may assume that stony, inhospitable areas which bear traces of ancient settlements were inhabited after more favorable regions were entirely settled. Some villages were situated at the head of bays or near small creeks where canoes could be landed and where men and women could fish on the coast. Other villages, such as Vai-mata, Puna-marengo, Ahu-te-peu, were perched high upon cliffs. Large settlements were never far from fresh water. Ahu-te-peu is only a mile from a pool and Vai-mata has brackish water. The ruins of Puna-marengo can be explained only by the fresh-water spring there. Vai-tara-kai-ua was an important settlement, because it had one of the best wells on the island.

Stone foundations which are still found on the sites of ancient villages must not be taken as a basis for evaluating the density of the ancient population. Many ancient huts did not have stone curbs; and not all of the preserved house foundations were contemporary. It seems best to resort to earlier accounts to estimate the extent of ancient aggregation.

Roggeveen (186, p. 19), who landed on the north coast, saw only six or seven long huts at that place, and inferred "that all the Indians make use of their possessions in common, for the large size and small number of their dwellings give one to know that many live together and sleep in a single building." Gonzalez' men (90, p. 102) assumed that most inhabitants lived in caves.

G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 569), standing on a hill near Hangaroa, "did not see above ten or twelve huts, though the view commanded a great part of the island." J. R. Forster and Cook mention houses on the south coast, about 3 miles from Vinapu (53, vol. 1, p. 282). De Langle, officer of the La Pérouse expedition, who made an excursion toward the interior of the island, describes briefly a little village near Vaihu, where he saw one long house and the foundations of several huts. (130, vol. 1, pp. 79-80).

The large scale map of Hanga-roa Bay in La Pérouse's Atlas (130) shows the distribution of the population on the coast. Near the present pier were a hut and an ahu. About 200 yards away stood three more huts and two stone houses. On the border of the actual village, the map indicates huts and caves; and a big house with stone foundations occupied the present site of

1: Métraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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the village. This representation is confirmed by Lisiansky's description (143, p. 56) of the same village, seen in 1803. Delano (5, p. 356) observed that along Hanga-roa Bay were a big house and many more of different form. 361

In 1866, most of the natives still lived in Anakena (81, p. 53) and in 1872 a number of them were in La Pérouse (145, p. 65). The missionaries first attempted to concentrate the population in Hangaroa and Vaihu (215, p. 453).

Geiseler (87, p. 40) noticed ruins of houses at the following places: on the south coast Hotu-iti, Rano-raraku, Hanga-te-tenga, Hanga-mai-iku, Akahanga, Vaihu and Vinapu; on the west coast Ahu-a-kapú, Ahu-te-peu; on the north coast Vai-mata, Hangoteo; Te Akaue, Anakena, Hanga-o-honu, Mahatua. The precipitous east coast, from Cape O'Higgins to Cape Roggeveen, bears no sign of occupancy although the presence of an ahu seems to prove that this coast was not entirely uninhabited.

The large village mentioned by Thomson (215, pp. 486-487) must refer to the houses between Tahai and Ahu-te-peu (village of Ana-o-hoka). There are remains of several houses, though some have been pulled down by Williamson-Balfour Company agents for stones to build their walls.

CLASSES OF SOCIETY

There were four grades or classes in the Easter Island society: *ariki* (noblemen), *ivi-atua* (priests), *matatoa* (warriors), and *kio* (servants or farmers). This schematic outline made by Roussel (190, p. 660) is only superficially exact. It does not indicate the actual position of the aristocracy and of the commoners and does not include the specialized groups like those of the experts (*maori*). 565

The ruler of the hierarchy was the principal high chief (*ariki-mau*) whom the missionaries and the present natives designate as "king of the island." As descendant of Hotu-matua by right of primogeniture, the king had great prestige which was increased by the sacredness of his person although his political influence was slight. The term *ariki-paka*, applied indiscriminately to all the Miru, expressed a real or fictitious relationship which every Miru could claim with the king's family (p. 126). The ancestors of several tribes were supposed to have been younger sons of Hotu-matua, but there is no evidence in literature or in modern traditions that the *ariki* title was held by tribes other than the Miru. Here there is a striking parallel with Mangaia where only one tribe established *ariki* titles (31, p. 103). On Easter Island, as on Mangareva, the commoners were called *hurumanu*. 643 619 554 565

KING

Information about the nature of kingship in ancient times has been derived from letters and reports of missionaries, especially the notes of Father Roussel, and from anecdotes and details remembered by native informants. According 643

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Stone Houses

CHICKEN HOUSES

Ancient Easter Island hen houses (*hare moa*) were rectangular heaps of stones with a long, narrow, chamber reached by two long, narrow passages. Anyone intending to steal had to remove the stones and consequently make a noise which would attract the owners. Near the ancient village of Vai-tara-kai-ua is a hen house still in good condition.

The lower part is made of basalt blocks heaped and adjusted with great care. The size of the stones decreases toward the top, and the upper part is composed of small stones, piled at random. The whole building is rectangular with both ends slightly curved. Two small passages lead to the central chamber. One of the entrances is surmounted by an arched stone. Under the opening two superimposed stones make a kind of staircase. The structure is 7.3 meters long, 3.3 meters wide, and 1.8 meters high.

STONE HOUSES AT ORONGO

A detailed survey of the village of Orongo was made by the Routledge expedition (195). It is briefly summarized here. The houses composing the village of Orongo stretch in two rows along the narrow ridge between the crater and the sea cliff on the southern rim of Rano-kao. At one point, the two rows overlap one another.

The houses are made of slabs which come from a natural quarry below the village on the crater side (pl. 3, *B*). The rock "is a fine grained volcanic sandstone bedded in large laminae." Despite numerous variations, these houses are all built according to the same general pattern. They have an oval or elliptical ground plan and their structure, like that of the thatched houses, suggests the form of an upturned canoe. The back walls rest against rocks or the slope of the volcano rim. In some places the ground has been excavated to obtain a level space. The foundations are made of rough cubes of stone, laid in the form of an oval. The inner side of the foundation course is lined with large vertical slabs which are set on edge and diminish in height from the center to the ends. The walls which have an average thickness of 1.5 to 1.8 meters, are remarkably solid. They are made of small or shattered fragments, "laid in horizontal course with broken joints." The spaces between the courses are filled flush with small stones. The back wall is lined on the outside with rough, wedge-shaped slabs, held in place by earth filled against them. The front wall has no external vertical slabs. The masonry has niches and shelves. There is sometimes a hatch between two adjoining houses and certain of them have inner annexes. The slabs or laminae set above the walls are "imbricated or 'tumble-home' till the opening is reduced to such a size that it can be spanned by a series of single slabs, thus completing the arch or roof. For these roofing slabs the curved laminae are chosen, and they are often of such dimensions that ten men would be required to move a single slab into place."

Like the thatched huts, these stone houses have the door in the middle of one side. This doorway is a sort of tunnel, lined on all sides by slabs, with two uprights and a lintel at the entrance. Some houses have a sill, formed by a slab sunk vertically into the ground, so that its upper edge is flush with the surface of the door. Some houses have two apertures, and in a few the aperture is double, the two passages being side by side.

When finished, these houses are covered with a thick layer of soil (at places 70 cm. deep). The slabs opposite the door are painted with representations of birds, European boats, dancing paddles, or the figure of the god with big eyes. Lintels or slabs in the houses are frequently covered with engraved vulvas. Outside a house there may be pits lined with stones, which serve as ovens or storage places.

The size of these houses varies greatly. The largest measures about 10 meters by

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Easter Islanders who wanted to increase their poultry so that they might celebrate a feast (*koro*) had the *ariki-paka* make a charm which contributed to the rapid increase of chickens. When invited to eat chicken meat, the priests received the rump (*huahua*) of the bird.

BIRD CULT

Until the second half of the nineteenth century the annual feast of the bird man (*tangata-manu*), held at Orongo, was extremely important to Easter Islanders. The rites performed were not only connected with the cult of the greatest god of the island, Makemake, but were endowed with special social significance, since ideas of prestige and economic privileges were closely associated with these ceremonies. The ostensible purpose of the ceremony was to obtain the first egg of the *manu-tara* (*Sterna hirundo*, sooty tern), the quest for which was entrusted to servants (*hopu*). The chief whose servant discovered the first egg received the envied title of bird-man (*tangata-manu*). This title, surrounded with tapus, brought to its holder and to members of his lineage certain material advantages and vast moral and religious benefits.

The far-reaching significance of the bird cult is illustrated by the extensive remains at Orongo, one of the most interesting archaeological sites on the island, and by the frequent use of bird and bird-man motifs in all forms of Easter Island art—tablets, wooden images, petroglyphs. The importance of birds in Easter Island culture and the use of birds as the basis for a religious cult are undoubtedly due to the poverty of the island fauna in which birds were the only conspicuous creatures. Not only were they the most interesting living thing next to man, but they contributed thousands of eggs for food.

The bird cult did not die out until about 50 years ago, long after the introduction of Christianity. Almost all recent visitors to Easter Island have studied the bird-man cult. Consequently there is a mass of contradictory material. Routledge, realizing the essential part this cult must have played in the ancient religious and social life, devoted much attention to it, and interviewed the last man who had participated in the ceremonies at Orongo. My information was gained mostly from Tepano, who was well acquainted with some details because his uncle was one of the last bird-men. The information he gave substantiates that gathered by Routledge and adds a few more details.

Orongo

The ceremonies and feasts connected with the bird cult were performed at Orongo, on the slopes of Rano-kao at the southwest point of the island. The village of Orongo lies on the narrow ridge separating the sea from the crater lake. It was temporarily occupied at the time of the yearly feast and deserted the rest of the year.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Islands of the Bird Cult

The picturesque site of Orongo was chosen because of its position opposite the islands Motu-nui, Motu-iti, and Motu-kaukau. Two of the islets are almost inaccessible, and it is possible to land on Motu-nui only when the sea is calm. Hundreds of thousands of birds make temporary abode on these solitary rocks, some of them coming for the winter and others for the summer. (See list of birds, p. 18.) The *manu-tara* (sooty tern), whose eggs were the principal objects of the *tangata-manu* feast, arrive from August to October. When I visited the island in November, it was covered with birds nesting on rocks and in the high grasses. Frightened by our arrival, they took flight, swirling around our heads in dense clouds. The natives who had accompanied us gathered in one hour more than a hundred eggs which they ate on the spot.

On Motu-nui there are several caves which were occupied by the *hopu* (servants) while they awaited the coming of the *manu-tara* and while they searched for the first eggs.

On the wall of the largest of these caves, which is about 6.5 meters long by 4 meters wide and 2 meters high, there is an incised image of an *ao* (dance paddle) which is 2.4 meters long. With Dr. Lavachery, I discovered another image which figures a *rei-miro* (breastplate) ending in two cocks' heads.

Besides this large cave, the entrance of which is visible, there are other smaller caves with narrow mouths. On the walls of one cave were some incised figures, among them that of a bird now in the Trocadero Museum. From the mouth of the bird protrudes a flame-like design, composed of many lines. This appears to be a conventional representation of the deafening cries of the birds. Another drawing, also taken from this cave and preserved in the Museum du Cinquantenaire at Brussels, shows a man with long ears.

The most spectacular of these caves is entered by a narrow passage descending at a sharp angle. Routledge (194, p. 275) saw five skeletons there, but I noticed only two; they were untouched and lying on a bed of boulders. Over them hung a big red head, carved in the hard mud of the ceiling, more than 500 mm. long and crossed in the lower part by horizontal lines. It resembled the god with big eyes figured in many petroglyphs on the island. Two small heads were seen in the same cave. A double-headed bird, carved in relief, had been partially destroyed by natives or by visitors hunting for curios. Fortunately another bird in the same cave was reproduced by Routledge (194, pl. 17). Neither Routledge nor anyone in our party was able to get information about the unusual presence of skeletons in this cave, which was probably not intended for a burial vault. The ornaments which covered its walls preclude such a possibility. These carvings are coated with red ochre and stand out from a white background which seemed to me to be natural, although Routledge believed it had been painted.

Another of the caves on the islet was believed by Routledge (194, p. 275) to have been transformed into a sepulchre, but the bones must have been thrown out, since I found none there. A statue presented to the British Museum by Routledge is said to have been removed from one of these caves and to have been called Titahanga-o-te-henua. It is purported to have marked the boundary between Tuu and Hotu-iti.

Mataveri

The third place closely associated with the ceremonies of the bird cult was Mataveri on the northern slope of Rano-kao, where now stands the house

5: Roggeveen T-5 (1721-1722)1908
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

It only remains to say, in concluding the subject of these dwelling-huts, that we did not see more than six or seven of them at the place where we landed, from which it may clearly be inferred that all the Indians make use of their possessions in common, for the large size and small number of their dwellings give one to know that many live together and sleep in a single building; but if one should therefore conclude that the women are held in common among them, one must naturally expect depravity and bickering to ensue.

Finally, as to their seagoing craft, they are of poor and flimsy construction; for their canoes are fitted together of a number of small boards and light frames, which they skilfully lace together with very fine laid twine made from the above-mentioned vegetable product *Piet*. But as they lack the knowledge, and especially the material, for caulking the great number of seams of their canoes, and making them tight, they consequently leak a great deal; on account of which they are necessitated to spend half their time in baling. Their canoes are about ten feet long, not counting the high and pointed stem and stern pieces. Their width is such that, with their legs packed close together, they can just sit in them so as to paddle ahead.

It was now deemed advisable to go to the other side of the Island, whereto the King or Head Chief invited us, as being the principal place of their plantations and fruit-trees, for all the things they brought to us of that kind were fetched from that quarter,—inasmuch as the Northerly wind which began to blow made our anchorage a leeshore: the more so because we had not many people on board the Ships, who could get help from us if necessary in the event of the wind waxing strong; moreover, the boats and shallops being filled to the utmost with men, these would in such a case not have been able to get back on board, either by reason of the heavy sea on the beach or of its becoming

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

164 753 ations, was spoken of by them, and was attributed to walking barefoot over certain running vines usually growing among the rocks at the seaside. On reaching such places they seemed to avoid them, but nothing definite or reliable was elicited, and subsequent inquiries were overlooked in the hurry of departure.

VILLAGES AND HABITATIONS.

●361 [162] The villages on the island are three in number, Hanga-roa, near the bay of the same name, on the western side; Mataveri, within a mile of the former, and Vaihu, near Cape Hoe-Hoe, on the southerly coast of the island. Much the larger part of the population is gathered in the two villages first mentioned, between which the people are about equally distributed. At the first named is the church of the Catholic mission.

About a half mile south of Mataveri, near the base of Rana Kao, and separated from it by the most distinctive valley on the island, is the residence of Mr. Brander, the first erected and by far the largest, roomiest, and most convenient; modern-built, of wood, with lofty ceilings, and porches, and shade trees growing about it. It is, however, in a sad state of repair, and the evidences of neglect and thriftlessness are apparent everywhere.

Vaihu, which can no longer be called a village, is about 4½ miles to the eastward of Mataveri. It was at one time a Catholic mission, and the church and parsonage, still in a fair state of preservation, yet remain, together with a few outbuildings, all of which are occupied by Mr. Salmon and his employees, perhaps a dozen in all. Divine service, under the leadership of native "missionaries," is still held in one portion of the church, while the remainder is appropriated to other purposes, mainly for the storage of wool, obtained from the sheep, considerable quantities of which are shipped to Tahiti.

000 The habitations of the ancient image and platform builders, the stone huts on Rana Kao, will be described in other reports.

342 171 Until quite recently the house of the modern Rapa Nuis were somewhat similar to those of the Fijians, being rectangular in shape, about 6 to 8 feet wide by 10 to 15 feet long, with nearly perpendicular sides, peak-roofed lengthwise, door on side, and thatched all over.

342 177 A few years since an Oregon lumber vessel was wrecked on the island and much of her cargo, which consisted of boards, scantling, etc., was brought ashore. Of these, under suitable instruction, the natives built themselves houses, and nearly all are now domiciled in comparatively modern style habitations and far more comfortably than formerly. These houses, which after all have a very forlorn look, are from 15 to 20 or more feet long by from 10 to 15 feet wide. The weatherboards are neatly fitted to the frame of scantling, and they are covered with a board roof. There are usually two doors hinged opposite each other on the long sides of the house, and a small window or two close by the entrances, and sometimes glazed, admit a feeble light when the doors are closed.

12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1920
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

126 possible to remove them at the right moment, the high eddying wind from the cliff tearing them to pieces as they dried.

128 While every endeavour has been made to ensure accuracy, it will be readily understood that it has been almost impossible to avoid all mistakes and omissions, especially when matters cannot be fully written up on the spot. These it is to be hoped will be rectified by our successors.

000 Finally, an appeal must be made for kind indulgence owing to the circumstances under which the text has inevitably been finished, which render it impossible to obtain friendly criticism or make personal correction of the proofs.

S.S. *Cumito*, off Jamaica,
Christmas Day, 1920.

HISTORY, POSITION, AND PLAN OF THE VILLAGE.

175* 994 361 On the summit of the extinct volcano known as Rano Kao, which forms the south-western angle of Easter Island, stand the old stone village and carved rocks of Orongo. There is as yet no clue to the date of the earliest houses or carvings, but the dwellings were occupied as lately as the sixties of last century, and the builder of one of the latest is said to have been remembered in recent times. The site was connected with a bird-cult practised in the islands, and the inhabitants awaited here the coming of a migatory sea bird, the Sooty Tern, which nested on some rocky islets near at hand. Such information as could be gathered about the bird-cult has been recorded elsewhere,[1] and it is proposed to deal here only with the existing stone remains.

133 192* 361 On three of its aspects the mountain of Rano Kao has been worn away by the sea till its sides are almost vertical, and, in its outermost portion, only a narrow edge of rock separates the lake, which lies within the crater basin, from the Pacific Ocean. The village commences where the width of the rim, between the crater wall and the sea cliff, is about one hundred yards. It follows the diminishing summit for about two hundred yards and terminates very shortly before the narrowest part of the rim is reached, and where the breadth of level ground is only 30 to 40 feet (Plate III).

192* 361 Where the houses begin the crater edge is somewhat higher than that of the cliff, and the dwellings lie, broadly speaking, in two rows which at one point overlap one another. The final houses are built amongst a group of rocks which are highly carved. All the houses face the sea, and are entered from that side. For the sake of convenience, the front, or seaward aspect, will be uniformly termed the "south" side; actually it varies somewhat, but is most generally south-west. The total number of dwellings is forty-eight.[2]

[1] See *Folk Lore*, December, 1917: *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 258.

[2] The numbers shown on plan reach forty-five, but in three cases, where a house has not been identified by the Surveyor, it has been inserted and the numbers duplicated.

12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1926
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

172* 36 Many of the houses are in good repair, in other cases they have been ruined to obtain the painted slabs and carved doorposts, and have no doubt in some instances suffered from natural decay. The rocks are much weathered, but a large proportion of the designs can be clearly traced.

CONSTRUCTION OF A TYPICAL HOUSE.

172* 34 All the houses are built of stone obtained from a quarry which is close at hand on the crater side of the summit. The rock is a fine grained volcanic sandstone bedded in large laminæ. In certain parts of the quarry the laminæ are curved and the section then resembles that of an onion (Plate V, Fig. 1). In size and shape the dwellings differ greatly from one another, accommodating themselves to the formation of the ground and pre-existing structures; they have, however, in common, not only the material of which they are constructed, but also a typical form to which the better specimens approximate in greater or less degree. Such a typical building will be first described, and later each house will be dealt with in detail. The Orongo house differs widely from that usually found elsewhere in the island. In both cases the dominant note is that of the upturned canoe, but, on the lower ground, the "ribs and keel" are of wooden rods, and the "skin" is of thatch, stone being employed for the foundations, or "gunwale," alone, and that only in the best built specimens.[1] Though, as will be seen, there is evidence to show that at least one of these thatched buildings has antedated at Orongo some of the stone dwellings, it is obvious that as a class it is unsuited for so windy and exposed a position. The natives term the Orongo habitation not *haré* or houses, but *ana* or cave.

A typical house is built as follows :—

The Site is chosen on sloping ground and the soil excavated sufficiently to obtain the required level space.

The Foundations are of rough cubes of rock weighing perhaps one cwt. each. They are laid in the form of an oval, the greatest length of which may be 26 feet, and the greatest width 6 feet (Fig. 3, in text).

The Walls.—On the inner side of the foundation course, slabs are set up on edge, the largest and flattest sections of stone from the quarry being used for lining the interior and placed vertically (Plate IV, Fig. 2).

The two side edges of the slabs approximate to the side edges of the adjoining slabs. The panels are of greatest height and size in the centre of the house, and diminish on either hand. In theory, the whole interior of the house is lined with slabs; in practice, towards the extreme ends of the house they are frequently altogether wanting.

[1] See *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 215. There are, however, scattered throughout the island numerous cairns with chambers which have been used as dwellings, and in one or two instances more carefully built stone houses.

12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1920
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

102
172*
● 361
532

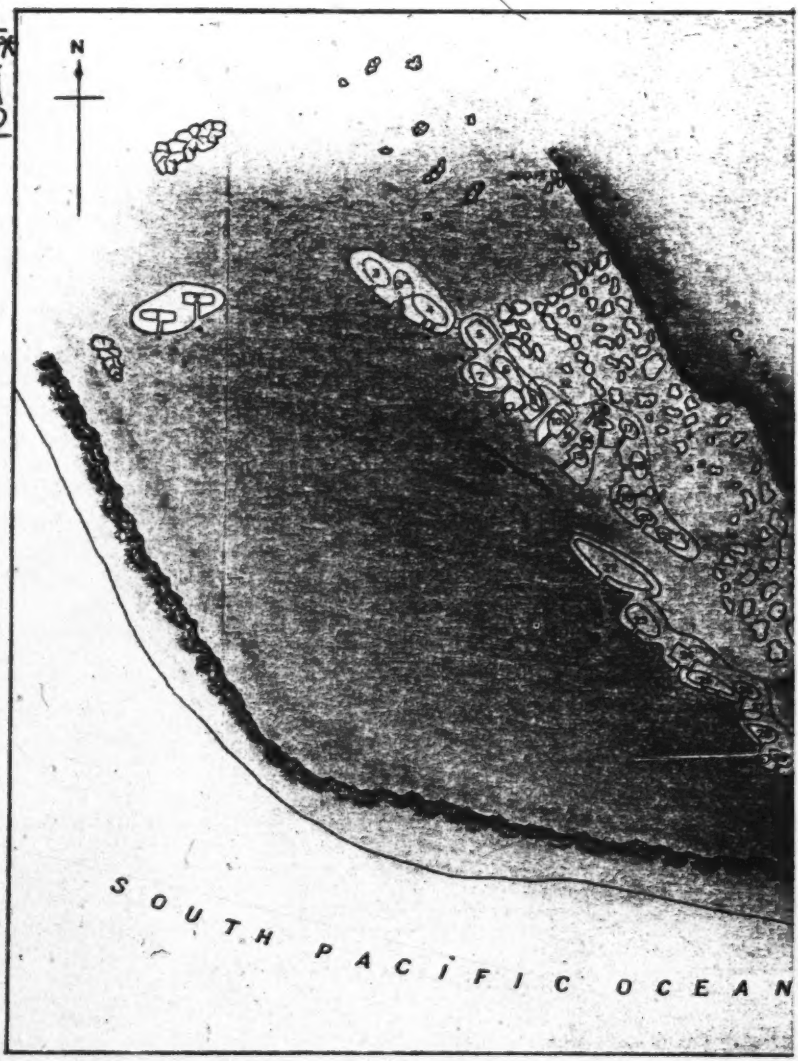

FIG. 2.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED RO

[facing p. 429]

12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1920
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

The group comprising houses Nos. 10 to 16 (Text-fig. 5; Plate VIII, Fig. 1), forms the most interesting and also the most difficult problem in the village. The following explanation for the position of three houses is put forward, with reserve on certain points.

Nos. 13 and 16 are the earliest houses of the group, forming part of the original line of the village. No. 14 was obviously built to accommodate itself to them, and

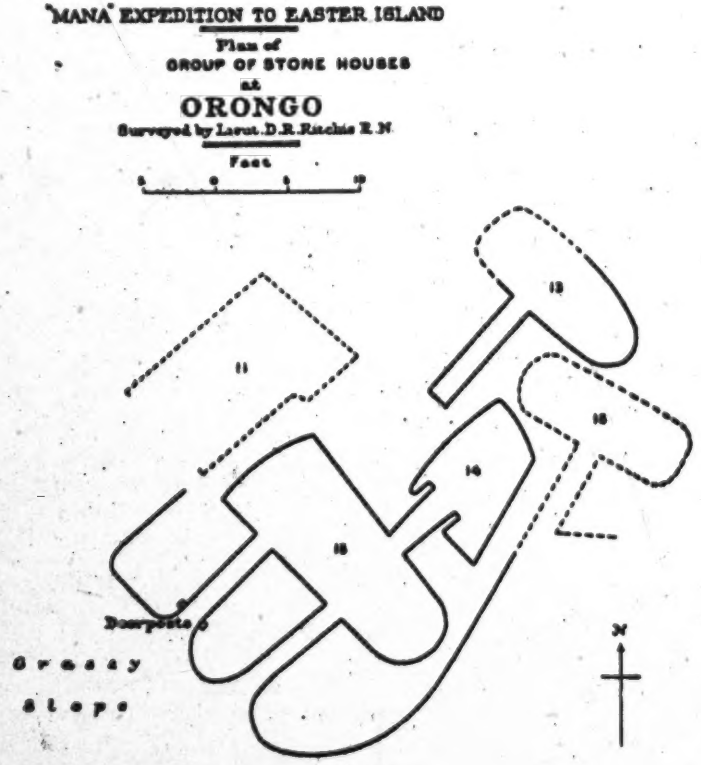

FIG. 5.

it may reasonably be concluded that it originally communicated direct with the outer air, otherwise the length of its passage would be pointless.

No. 13 has been wrecked by a fall of stones from above and never repaired. No. 15 was subsequently built in front of the now useless entrance of No. 13, and also in front of No. 14, turning the latter into an inner chamber ? (Text-fig. 5).

The end wall by this later addition, No. 15, also made Nos. 16, 17 and 18 open on to a small court.

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172* On the west and east side of the "court" are vertical rocks, varying in height from some 4 feet to 8 or 10 feet. Both pavement and rocks are covered with carving.

The south side of the court is the edge of the sea cliff, which is here for a short distance almost vertical. The upper part of the face has crumbled away, with the result that a section is exposed, measuring perhaps some 8 to 10 feet in depth. Of this section, the highest part has fractured into the slabs which form the carved pavement aforesaid. The slabs tend to be concavo-convex from below upwards after the manner of the roofing slabs. The central rock of the section has fractured into large quadrilateral cubes. The bottom section is of similar nature to the top layer, but is rubble. At the foot of the section a small portion of the cliff tends to be horizontal, and it is possible to walk with comfort underneath the section. This comparatively level portion is said to have been used for cooking purposes.

[361]

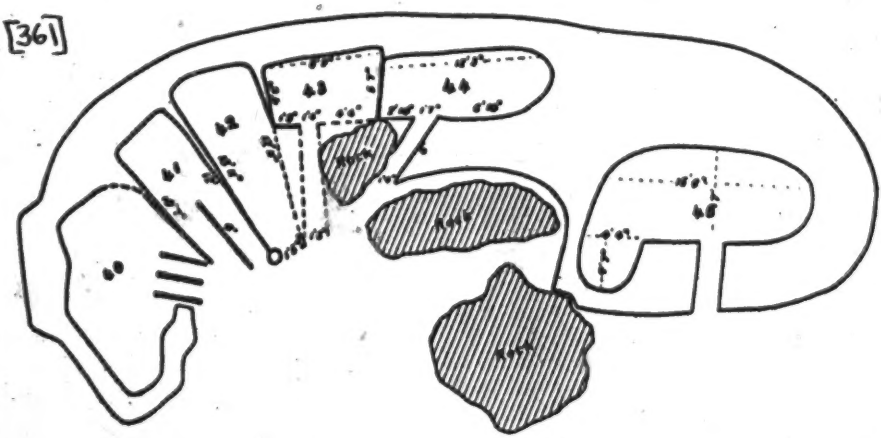

FIG. 8.—GROUND PLAN OF HOUSES NOS. 40 TO 45, SHOWING CERTAIN MEASUREMENTS.

Nos. 40 to 44 may perhaps be most correctly considered as forming one house divided into sections, of which the west end of No. 40, which is oval, and the east end of No. 44, which is also oval, form the respective terminations. No. 45 is of normal type. It was stated independently by more than one native authority that at the great bird festival these houses were lived in by old men, who chanted from the local tablets or script. Nos. 40, 41 and 42 were, it is said, occupied by the experts from Kotuu, or the west side of the island, and Nos. 43, 44 and 45 by those from Hotu Iti, or the east side of the island.

No. 40.

Condition :—roofless and in ruins.
Entrances :—two.

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the Marama clan set fire to the house of the head of the Miru clan because the Miru had given the coveted distinction to the Ngaure instead of to his own people. An aggrieved clan had its remedy through war.[1] The Mata-toa when taking part in the bird ceremonies are spoken of as the "Ao," thus "Miru te Ao" signifies that the Miru were the celebrants that year; the same name is given to an actual object in the shape of a large paddle used in dancing, the handle of which was adorned with a human face. The island is triangular in shape, with its apex to the north, and the bird ceremonies were especially connected with the western angle. This portion is formed by an extinct volcano known as Rano Kao, and in October the Mata-toa, or a certain number of them, men, women and children, took up their abode in a number of houses at the foot of the mountain on the landward side. The place is called Mataveri and the removal there was known as "Kaho Mataveri ki te Ao," or "to go to Mataveri for the Ao." The houses were made after the fashion of the island, as a superstructure of sticks and reed on a boat-shaped foundation of stone, and here great cannibal feasts were held; tradition relates that so big were the houses that one of the victims escaped by hiding in an extreme end. Similar gruesome feasts took place to the accompaniment of breaking waves in a sea cave near at hand, which still bears the name of "Ana-kai-tangata," or "Cave eat man"; the roof is covered with paintings of birds in red and white pigment, one of which is superimposed on a drawing of a European ship and cannot, therefore, be earlier than the eighteenth century. For

[1] Since writing the above Dr. Corney has located the interesting accounts of the first missionaries, published in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Their knowledge of the Bird cult is vague, but they were specially impressed with the tumult which resulted between different parties after the finding of the egg in the month of September. It must be remembered that their acquaintance with the island was subsequent to the disorganization caused by the Peruvian raid.

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the bird celebrations, in addition to a particular dress and hat, the men carried the "ao" and the women wore the "remiro," a breast ornament only used by a woman whose husband was of the Mato-toa. The wooden images, "moai toromiro," were hung around the neck. A function connected with the young birds took place in October or November, but will be more conveniently spoken of later.

In July the Ao left Mataveri and wound their way up to the top of the mountain by a track still just traceable and known as "the road of the Ao." Rano Kao is some thirteen hundred feet in height and has a crater about a mile in width; the landward side is a grassy slope, but the three sides which are surrounded by sea have been gradually eroded till they form a steep and precipitous cliff of about one thousand feet. So far has this erosion proceeded that the sea has nearly worn its way into the crater itself, which is at the present time only separated from it by a wall of rock along which it would be feasible but not easy to walk. In this process of attrition some harder portions of rock have been left and form three little islands lying off the coast. Standing on the western extremity of the mountain with the narrow ridge immediately on the left, the crater behind and the cliff in front, these islets are seen far below, always girdled with breaking surf from the swell of the Pacific, which here extends in an unbroken sweep to the Antarctic. To-day no sound is heard save the cries of the sea birds as they circle round these their habitations.

The company of the Ao proceeded by the western side of the crater along its ever-narrowing summit till this spot on the cliff was reached, which is known as Orongo. Here houses were again awaiting them, but unlike those at Mataveri they were constructed of stone laminae, lined and roofed with slabs and covered with earth; such structures were obviously more suitable for so windy a spot than those made of reeds. The entrance, which is always toward

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the sea, is by a narrow passage through the thickness of the wall, along which it is just possible to crawl. The slabs opposite the doorway, and where consequently there is a certain amount of light, are often painted; the ao appears on them, also bird designs and frequently representations of European ships. In the middle of the village is the house in which stood the image now at the British Museum, the front of which had to be broken down before the statue could be removed. The image is typical in form, but to find one under cover and in such a position is absolutely unique; its name, "Hoa-haka-nanaia," is roughly translated as "the wave turns over and breaks"; the word Taura-renga is also associated with it, sometimes being applied to the house and sometimes to the image. The village terminates as it approaches the narrowest part of the cliff amongst a number of carved rocks, between which a semicircle of small houses have been built; in some cases the houses cover the carving, which is evidently the older. These dwellings were occupied during the festival by the "tangata rongo-rongo," or the men who recited from the hieroglyphic tablets which form one of the mysteries of the island; half the houses were apportioned to the savants from Kotuu, the other half to those from Hotu-iti. "They chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that was all." This group of rocks and dwellings is known as "Mata-ngarau," and was taboo during the festival to the common herd.

There are in the whole settlement forty-six houses, of which many are practically intact, while others have been ruined in the endeavour to obtain the painted slabs within. The Ao spent the time while awaiting the birds in dancing each day in front of the buildings, food being brought to them from below, where, according to one authority, a friendly clan kept watch at Mataveri. A short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a cave known as "Haka-ronga-manu," or "The cave of

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sources how great was the impression which was made by the foreigners.

Social Life.—Roggeveen's description of the people as being of all shades of colour is still accurate. They themselves are very conscious of the variations, and when we were collecting genealogies, they were quite ready to give the colour of even remote relations: "Great-aunt Susan," it would be unhesitatingly stated, was "white," and "Great-aunt Jemima black." The last real ariki, or chief, was said to be quite white. "White like me?" I innocently asked. "You!" they said, "you are red"; the colour in European cheeks, as opposed to the sallow white to which they are accustomed, is to the native our most distinguishing mark. It is obvious that we are dealing with a mixed race, but this only takes us part of the way, as the mixture may have taken place either before or after they reached the island.

They were divided into ten groups, or clans ("máta"), which were associated with different parts of the island, though the boundaries blend and overlap; members of one division settled not infrequently among those of another. Each person still knows his own clan.

In remembered times there were no group restrictions on marriage, which took place indiscriminately between members of the same or of different clans. The only prohibition had reference to consanguinity, and forbade all union nearer than the eighth degree or third cousins. These ten clans were again grouped, more especially in legend or speaking of the remote past, into two major divisions known as Kotuu (or Otuu), and Hotu Iti, which correspond roughly with the western and eastern parts of the island. These divisions were also known respectively as Mata-nui, or greater clans, and Mata-iti, or lesser clans. The lower portions of the island were the most densely populated parts, especially those on the coast, and the settlements on the higher ground appear to have been few (fig. 91).

In Kotuu, the Marama and Háumoana inhabited side by side the land running from sea to sea between the high central ground and the western volcano Rano Kao. They had a small neighbour, the Ngatimo, to the south, and jointly with the Miru spread over Rano Kao and formed settlements by the margin of the crater lake. The Miru lived on the high, narrow strip

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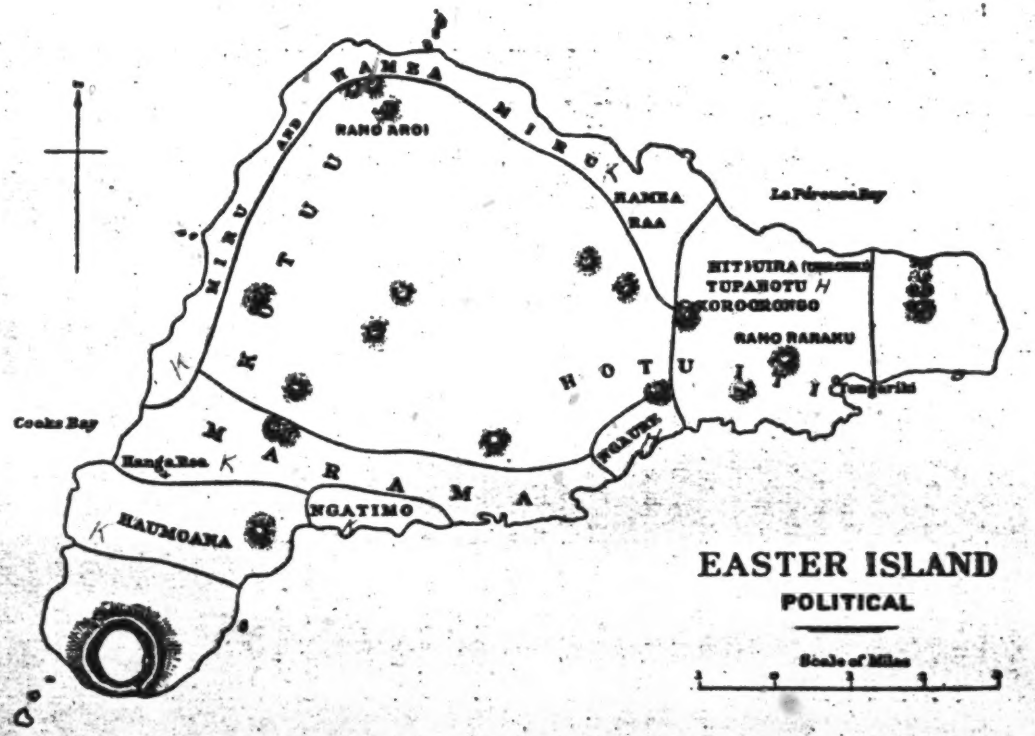
102
619
621
●361
Fig. 91.



EASTER ISLAND
POLITICAL

Scale of Miles

Note.—The dividing lines shown are not defined boundaries.

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between the mountain in the apex and the cliff, and mixed up with them was a lesser people, the Hamea. To the east was another small clan, the Raa, which is spoken of in conjunction with the Miru and Hamea.

The principal Hotu Iti clans were the Tupahotu, the Koró-orongo, and the Hitiuira. The last were generally known as the "Ureohei"; they inhabited jointly the level piece of ground from the northern bay to the south coast, and had some dwellings on the eastern headland. Next to them on the south coast was a small group, the Ngaure.[1] The particular importance of the clans lies in the fact that, while they may be merely groups of one body, they may, on the other hand, represent different races or waves of immigrants. If there have been two peoples on Easter Island, these divisions are one place where we must at least look for traces for it.

Legend tells of continual wars between Hotu Iti and Kotuu. In recent times general fighting seems to have been constant, and took place even between members of one clan. A wooden sword, or paoa, was used, but the chief weapon was made from obsidian, and took from it the name of "mataa." This volcanic glass is found on the slope of Rano Kao, but the principal quarries are on the neighbouring hill of Orito. Tradition says its use was first discovered by a boy who stepped on it and cut his foot. The obsidian was knapped till it had a cutting edge, and also a tongue, which latter was fitted into a handle or stick (fig. 92). The various shapes assumed were dignified by names, fourteen of which were given, such as "tail of a fish," "backbone of a rat," "leaf of a banana." It was very usual to pick up these mataa, and hoards were occasionally found; in one instance fifty or sixty were discovered below a stone in a cave, and in another case the hammer-stone was found with them which had been used in the process of squeezing off the flakes. The weapon was

[1] Of these clan names, "Raa" means the sun and "Marama" the light. The signification of the others is not equally clear, and the natives could give no assistance; but Mr. Ray gives the following interesting information from other Polynesian sources. "Haumoana" means the sea-breeze; "Hitiuira" is probably "hiti-ra" or sunrise; and "Ure-o-hei" another version of "ura-o-hehe," or red of sundown. "Koro-orongo" is doubtless from "Koro-o-Rongo," or the ring of Rongo (a well-known Polynesian deity), that is the rainbow. "Kotuu" appears to be a contraction of "Ko Otuu," meaning "The Hill"; the name "Otuu" is used alternatively for the same district. "Hotu" is another form of the word for hill and "Iti" signifies small, it presumably refers to Rano Raraku.

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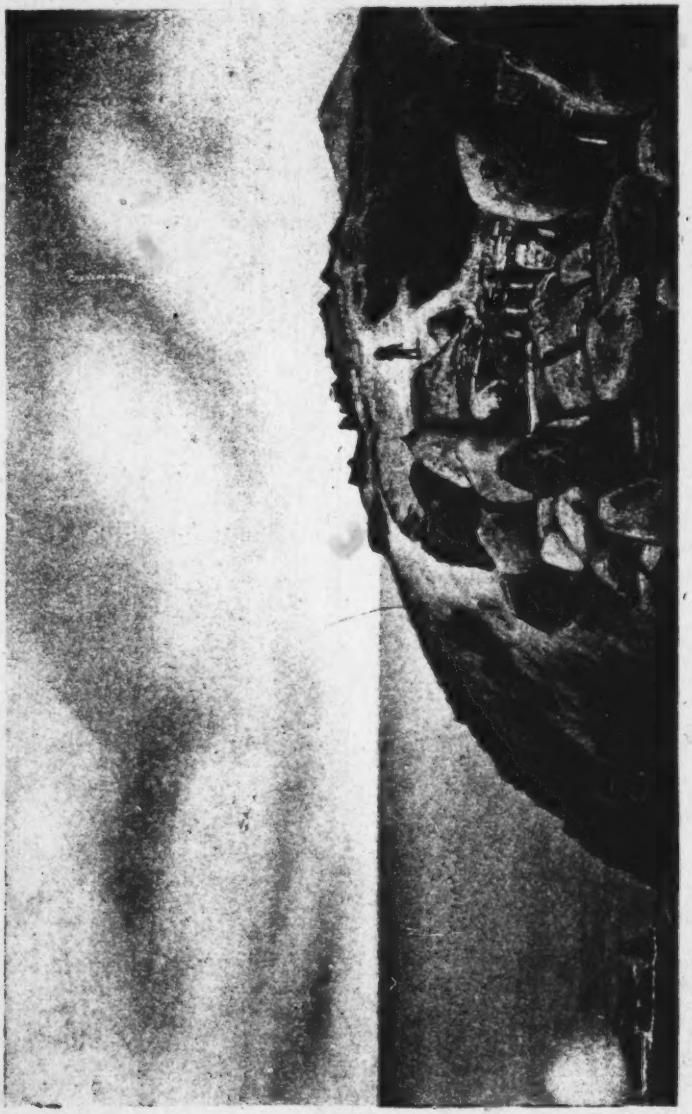
FIG. 103.



ORONGO, END HOUSES AND CARVED ROCKS

[facing p. 255]

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not easy to walk with safety. At some near date, as geological ages reckon, the island will have a magnificent harbour (figs. 100 and 108). Off this part of the coast are three little islets, outlying portions of the original mountain, which have as yet withstood the unceasing blows of the ocean. Their names are Motu Nui, Motu Iti, and Motu Kao-kao, and on them nest the sea-birds which have for unknown centuries played so important a part in the history of the island. On the mainland, immediately opposite these islets, there is on the top of the cliff a deserted stone village; it is known as Orongo, and in it the Islanders awaited the coming of the birds. It consists of nearly fifty dwellings arranged in two rows, both facing the sea, and partly overlapping; the lower row terminates just before the narrowest part of the crater wall is reached. The final houses are built among an outcrop of rocks; they are betwixt two groups of stones, and have in front of them a small natural pavement. The stones nearest the cliff look as if at any moment they might join their brethren in headlong descent to the shore below (fig. 103). Both the upstanding rocks and pavement are covered with carvings; some of them are partly obliterated by time, and can only be seen in a good light, but the ever-recurrent theme is a figure with the body of a man and the head of a bird; portions of the carvings are covered by the houses, and they therefore antedate them.

The whole position is marvellous, surpassing the wildest scenes depicted in romance. Immediately at hand are these strange relics of a mysterious past; on one side far beneath is the dark crater lake; on the other, a thousand feet below, swells and breaks the Pacific Ocean, it girdles the islets with a white belt of foam, and extends, in blue unbroken sweep, till it meets the ice-fields of the Antarctic. The all-pervading stillness of the island culminates here in a silence which may be felt, broken only by the cry of the sea-birds as they circle round their lonely habitations.

The stone village formed the scene of some of our earliest work during our first residence at the Manager's house; for some weeks, weather permitting, we rode daily up the mountain, an ascent which took about fifty minutes, and spent the day on the top studying the remains, and picking the brains of our native companions. Some of the houses have been destroyed in order